/312 cont./

539 when the thief again came, took down some potatoes, kindled a fire, and roasted them in it, he took out both of his eyes "out of foolishness" before he ate and laid them on one of the three hearth-stones. Then the owner of the potatoes, whom the thief, of course, could not see, stepped up, saw the eyes, and kicked them into the fire, so that they burned with a bang. The thief heard the bang, to be sure, but thought to himself, how fine the potatoes are popping and sizzling!

When the thief had eaten all the potatoes, he looked for his eyes, but could not find them. He then left the house very sadly, without eyes, and set out for his own house. On the way he met a rat who was out walking there, and they started a conversation. The thief complained that he had lost his eyes and that, without eyes, it was very difficult to find them again. He begged the rat to lend him one of hers only until he had found his own eyes again. The rat lent him one, but since both of his eyes were burned, he could not, of course, find them. The man then turned himself into wind.

The rat searched for the thief of her eye for a long time, but could not find him. Her son, like his mother, also had only one eye. The son in turn had a son, and he, too, had only one eye. Since that time the descendants of this rat family have only one eye. And that is why one can still find rats today who, to be sure, have the nose, mouth, feet, skin, and ears of a rat, but only one eye or none at all; they go back to that rat who once lent one of her eyes.

/313/

●105 V. Summary and Culture-historical Classification of Paez Culture

[161] If we briefly summarize the sketch of Paez life and the ele-
[621] ments of their culture, we find before us a democratic agricultural
[177] people of 25,000 persons, among whom no one is master and no
[197] one servant. Surrounded for centuries by Spanish culture, they have preserved their language in extensive sections of their area of settlement.

/313 cont./

105 settlement. At the same time, however, we must certainly confirm a cultural impoverishment, considerable in some respects, among these people who outwardly seem quite prosaic and matter-of-fact.

105 Anthropologically they belong to the American Centraloid
143 /zentraliden/ race (v. Eichstedt /see the bibliography in the
144 foreign text, pp. 323-327, for this and the following references/) with a striking predominance of blood group 0. Although the latter fact is only one component of the somatic picture, it is extremely interesting to find a predominance of this blood group among a large number of American natives. Among the Paez there are 88.78%, among the neighboring Guambiano 84.25% (Lehmann, Duque y Fornaguera, p. 200), among the natives of Caldas 92.25% (Duque, 1944, p. 626), among the Sibundoy 84.42%, among the Santiagos 94.23% (Paez-Perez y Freudenthal, p. 413), and among the Pijao the blood group 0 is almost 100% (Reichel, 1944, p. 517). These investigations of Colombian tribes agree with a more comprehensive picture. According to the analysis of G. Arcila Velez (p. 11), 80.6% of the people among the Eskimo are of blood group 0, 91.3% among the pure North American Indians, 72.7% among the Navajo, 97.7% among the Yucatecans, 79% among the Mataco, and 100% among the Guarani of the Rio Grande do Sul.

105 The form of settlement of the Paez in the deeply fissured
[361] mountainous region of Tierradentro is the loose arrangement of individual family-farms on the mountain slopes, as far from neighbors as possible. The village settlement-area is geographically invariable and embraces the natural area of the dwellings and the land used within a valley basin. The house, as the family focus and social center for one family in each case, is built on the family's own land. It is used -- depending on the type of construction -- for a harvest period or for ten to 15 years. The land belongs to the family that first cleared it. Besides this there is community land for the free use of all members of the village. The interior of the normally /314/ hip-roofed rectangular houses is divided into two rooms, one of which serves as the kitchen and living room, the other as a storage room.

/314 cont./

●105 The clothing of the men and women covers the upper and lower body. The men's upper garment, called "ruana" in Colombia, "poncho" in Peru, is a sleeveless shirt open at the sides. It is ancient American, known both from the relief of the so-called "sun god" of Tiahuanaco and from a grave of the pre-Spanish [291] period in Arica (northern Chile) (Montell, pp. 173-183). Soon [171] after the Conquista, since the second half of the sixteenth century, this Andean article of clothing, which consists simply of a square piece of cloth with an elongated slit for the head, was distributed throughout the area of the Andean mountain cultures. Its name, "atç," among the Paez, however, has no parallel linguistically. [177] The men's trousers are clearly Spanish. The women's costume is most simple: as an upper garment to a skirt a rectangular piece of cloth is simply put crosswise over their upper bodies.

[241] From an economic point of view, field cultivation is primary. It is carried out by the men in the form of the burned-clearing system with a ten-year clearing cycle. The only field tool is the [433] digging stick. The minimal area of cultivated land for one family is about one hectare. The principal crops are maize and sugar [177] cane. The latter was not introduced until after the Conquista. The Paez word means "sweet." The Paez designation for maize, "kotç," has no parallel with the corresponding words of the Chibcha, Carib, or Aruac /Arawak/ language groups, but with Kechua / /Quechua/, where maize is called "kuts" (Birket-Smith, pp. 22-30). The stimulants are coca and chicha made of sugar-cane juice. Both Paez words, eṣ and mbéka, respectively, have no parallels in other language groups.

105 241 There are no outstanding festivals indicative of a planter's culture or rites associated with the products of field cultivation, nor does anything indicating an agricultural rhythm of life appear in the myths and religious customs of the Paez. The mythology and ceremonial customs are remnants of a hunter's attitude of mind. It appears as though the Paez did not adopt their primitive agriculture until the time of the Conquista or shortly before, and adopted only the mechanical application of the methods of simple digging-stick farming, without the ceremonial customs associated

/314 cont./

105 241 [442] with sowing and harvesting otherwise characteristic of peoples who plant. It is not improbable that they practiced this field cultivation as they describe it for the Pijao. In the story /315/ of the Paez with the ax (No. 16) it is said that the Pijao were not familiar with tools in former times and, accordingly, could not fell trees to lay out a proper burned-off field. In order to obtain fields for their sowing, they were obliged to split the bark of trees with stones. After these were dried, they sowed their maize between the dead trunks.

105 [224] In connection with hunting, economically insignificant today, the hunter is surrounded by a number of prohibitions such as we find everywhere among hunting peoples throughout the world.

[226] Fishing is carried on with poisonous plants at weirs. It took place as a joint fishing expedition of the entire village in the February dry season when the water was at its lowest level of the year. This large annual fishing expedition was called enzte. The time

[233] [556] [23] period of one year was also designated with the same word. Raising large livestock is almost purely a sport or a matter of appearance and wealth. Horses are not used; cattle are slaughtered only for the three large annual Christian festivals (Semana Santa, San Juán, Immaculada).

Among weapons, only the shotgun for hunting is of significance

[773] [441] today. The pellet blowgun and the stone-sling are used as toys. In the mythology the latter plays an important part as a decisive weapon in war.

In the handcraft techniques of plaiting and weaving, the use of agave fiber and sheep wool predominates, generally in the form of spun and twisted threads. The carrying bags of agave fiber and the wool coca bags are made by the loop technique; the hammocks, bird nets, berry sieves, and stone-slings by the knot technique. Only straw hats are plaited. The bands of the fiber bags are woven out of agave fibers; the women's belts and the articles of clothing of men and women, out of sheep wool. The weaving method is simple rod-weaving with the linen texture. The women's belts have an ornamental warp formed during the weaving process. The weaving frame is vertical, of the so-called

/315 cont./

105 "Araucanian" type (O'Neale, p. 115). In place of the shed rod we have a simple loop; in place of the heddle rod, a bundle of loops.
105 The warp threads are stretched in the form of the "false spiral warp,"
286 a mixture of the method of the continuous, circular warp with the
171 method of the terminating flat warp. This genuinely American way of stretching the warp is found among the Northwest Coast Indians as well as among the tribes of the Gran Chaco (Olson, pp. 114-121). Culture-historically H. Nevermann regards the various forms of American weaving /316/ as having originated on the basis of a native or pre-Polynesian plait-weaving. Among the Paez we find this technical stage in the plait-weaving of the carrying bands of the coca bags.

105 For dyeing, vegetable dyes are used, which dye only sheep wool, but not cotton.

Pottery is very simple. There are only hemispherical pots and bowls made with the spiral coil technique, both without any ornamentation.

The present political organization of the Paez is based on the village community. It is led by a village council (cabildo), whose members are chosen for a year from among the men of the village. The designations for the members of the cabildo and their functions are in part Spanish. In former times the leaders of the Paez were
[621] often men with shamanistic abilities. The village is not organized
[565] by either classes or occupations. No one need serve another for
[463] pay; the word and the thing are unknown to the Paez. The father
[464] of the family with his sons or brothers works his fields, and if
[476] friends or neighbors lend their help, it is compensated for by assistance in their fields.

[594] The family organization is basically the patrilineal,
[178] monogomous nuclear family, consisting of the parents and the
[951] unmarried children. Here there has probably been the least
[533] change in Paez culture. The children are given the family of the father. For her marriage the woman receives no dowry of any kind from her parents, and she keeps her maiden name. Since there are no social or financial reasons for concluding a marriage, a woman has only the merit of her personality and abilities. These are tested during a "trial year" before the actual conclusion of the marriage.

/316 cont./

105 601 The kinship nomenclature shows remnants of a "classificatory" system, into which the individual is fitted as part of a living structure and does not stand out in profile, detached within the family. Persons are differentiated in address according to certain circumstances of age and life, and, among others, siblings are differentiated in address, according to whether they are younger or older than the speaker.

105 53 [177] In art and mythology a considerable impoverishment has taken place. There is neither song nor any peculiar dance. The music of transverse flutes and drums, performed with great enthusiasm, is to be stressed. The cylindrical drum with skin stretched on two sides, which is used at the present time by the Paez, is in all parts of America a loan from the Negroes. In earlier times hanging, hollowed-out tree-trunks were used for the dance and for conveying information, such as /317/ are used today as troughs for making chicha. The rattles formerly present are no longer used today. The transverse flutes with six blowholes used by the Paez are post-Columbian; at any rate they are not found in this form either archeologically or recently among uninfluenced Indians. The only transverse flute form known from pre-Spanish and modern times are flutes that are stopped at both ends and provided with two blowholes (Izikowitz, pp. 298 ff.).

105 773 776 In the fund of tales no comprehensive picture of the world emerges. The chief figure in the myths is Thunder, who appears as the first shaman and as a war leader. He is not, however, an exalted, numinous figure, but rather to some extent has characteristics attributed to forest spirits in other parts of South America. [784] There is also a special forest spirit (gĕlyómp) among the Paez. He [224] has the figure of an old man with large, exposed sexual parts, and his stings inflicted as punishment for ritual uncleanness in connection with hunting cause the human being sickness and pain. He does not, however, appear mythologically. Fragments of larger myth-complexes are the story of the woman from whose body useful plants arise, the story about the ghostly human head that comes rolling along, stories about transformed animals and human beings, and stories about werejaguars.

/317 cont./

105 771 756 In the Paez religion there is no cult priesthood with offerings and prayer, just as there is also no cult or worship of numinous beings. The Paez religion is a shamanism, the two forms of which are the evil sorcerer and the good shaman as doctor and helper against evil sorcery. As a religious phenomenon Paez shamanism is not as distinctive as the Siberian or the North American shamanism. Assistant spirits and the soul journey as shamanistic means are only rudimentary with the shamanistic "signs," the "thunder child," and the journeys of the shaman to the house of Thunder on the bottom of the lagoon; there is almost no ceremonial apparatus. Nevertheless, the activity of the good shaman in particular, as doctor and helper in sickness caused by magical practices, as well as his function as sociological crystallization point of the community, is entirely a shamanistic phenomenon.

105 [197] [194] Linguistically Paez belongs among the agglutinative languages, in which the form element is made up by affixes that characterize whole classes of words. In phonetics the series of palatals including all the consonants is striking, as well as the frequent occurrence of nasal vowels.

105 114 197 /318/ The linguistic classification of Paez is difficult. Since the research of H. Beuchat and P. Rivet it has been regarded as one of the Chibcha languages. This was not always the case. E. Castillo i Orosco emphasized in 1735 that in its grammatical structure Paez is very different from Chibcha (p. 63). It was C. Cuervo Marquez who first regarded Paez as a Chibcha language (p. 199). H. Pittier de Fábrega emphasized in 1907 that the relationship of Paez refers only to the rules of grammatical construction; the vocabulary is completely different (p. 341). Then in 1910 Beuchat and Rivet investigated all the North Andean languages in a work of large scope and then confirmed the distribution of the Chibcha languages from Nicaragua to Eucador. According to this, the majority of the Colombian tribes spoke Chibcha (pp. 193-198). Up to now this classification has neither been examined in greater detail nor disproved by linguistics. This may be left to the philologists. Here there will only be a few remarks about the problem of the Chibcha languages in general and that of Paez as an

/318 cont./

105 114 197 assumed Chibcha language in particular. The difficulty of language comparison in the northern Andean area lies in the wholely inadequate material for comparison. The majority of the tribes investigated have died out long ago, and there is seldom sufficiently complete material available from the few living ones. Even the true Chibcha (Mwiska) on the plateau of Bogotá has not been spoken for two and a half centuries and is known only from the literature. Beuchat and Rivet choose the lexicographic and grammatical method for their language comparison. The total vocabulary of the languages investigated contains about 200 words. These serve as comparative material for 49 languages, namely, for true Chibcha (Mwiska) and 23 other languages and dialects in northern Colombia and Panama, as well as for 25 languages and dialects of southern Colombian languages! Methodologically the procedure was to find a lexicographic agreement between language A and language B, another agreement between language B and language C, a further agreement between language C and language D, etc. In the proof, language A is related to languages B, C, D, etc. Applied to Paez: In the vocabulary given by Beuchat and Rivet there is no Paez word in direct agreement with Chibcha! Nor was there even a choice of words according to their qualitative significance. Thus it is especially noteworthy that there is a complete lack of corresponding designations for food, animals, useful plants, metals (gold), parts of the body, kinship designations, etc. /319/ On the basis of the vocabulary, therefore, it is not possible to designate Paez as a Chibcha language. To what extent this applies to the other southern Colombian tribes, for whom there usually exists only a very limited vocabulary, cannot be discussed here. In any case, there is a large number of Kechua /Quechua/ words in all these languages -- as a result of the close proximity to Kechua-speaking peoples. (For Paez, cf. the compilations in Castillo i Grosco and Pittier de Fábrega.) Grammatical agreements between Chibcha and Paez do exist. At the same time, however, Beuchat and Rivet expressly point out that, of the languages compared, Paez shows the greatest grammatical differences with Chibcha (pp. 190/191). In summary it may be

105 114 192 197

105 197 [114] [193]

P /319 cont./
105 concluded that the classification of Paez as a Chibcha language
197 cannot be regarded as definite. The grammatical agreements may just as well be remnants of an older, or superimpositions of a younger, population layer. In addition there is the fact that in the sometimes centuries-long struggles since the Conquista considerable shifting and intermingling of populations have taken place. It is possible that the tribes existing or surviving today are only scattered remains or groupings that have been made up from other tribes only after the Conquista.

C P 105 P [197] E [361] P C [241] [412] P C [323] P [325] P C [411] P C [771]
Culturally the Paez have nothing at all in common with Chibcha culture. The Chibcha language group established by H. Beuchat and Paul Rivet is a linguistic concept, which, in an uninterrupted extension from Nicaragua to Ecuador, embraces completely different cultures! For example, the Chibcha settlements on the plateau of Bogotá are compact villages, whereas the Paez live on individual farms. The agriculture of the Chibcha, with the use of a wooden spade, is relatively advanced in comparison with the digging stick and burned-clearing cultivation of the Paez. Technically the manufacture of Chibcha ceramics is far above that of the Paez, and it is certain that the Paez did not do any gold work. Among the Paez the sling was the principal weapon; among the Chibcha, club and spear with the spear thrower. In the Chibcha religion we have a creator-god or a tribal mother with a pantheon of other gods, with offerings of gold and emeralds; we find hero-temples, holy places, and sacred kings, while among the Paez, only shamans.

C 105 P C 197
Thus we have a gaping division between the Chibcha language group and the Chibcha culture. Scientific terms, however, should be unequivocal and not designate different concepts with the same words. This is done correctly in Europe, for example, with /320/ the Indo-Germanic family of languages, the Dinaric race, or the band-ceramics culture.

The cultural concept of the Chibcha is the older one. In order not to identify and confuse the culture group with the language group which is completely different from it, the language group should have a different name, especially since it is not certain whether

C 105 Pc 197 /320 cont./ what is common in the vocabulary and structure of the language goes back to Chibcha or to a linguistically different substratum. Analogously this is true of the archeological cultures of the northern Andean area, which are also similar in many aspects, but do not go back to the Chibcha culture.

P 105 172 174 There remains the question of the ethnic relationship of the archeological Tierradentro-culture. In view of their meager material and artistic cultural possessions, the Paez were technically not capable of the manifestations of an advanced culture that exist in Tierradentro. With their strictly democratic social structure, they also lack the organization by estate needed to maintain such a culture. Even in the mythological traditions of the Paez, there is no hint of any relationship with the archeological culture. The only similarity seems to be the Paez method of burial in a niche grave; typologically, however, this is not identical with the shaft grave. In addition there is the difference of the cremation burial in the archeological culture in contrast to the skeleton burial of the entire corpse among the Paez. Moreover, the Paez are a local, relatively narrowly circumscribed tribe; the archeological culture, on the other hand, has the most extensive geographical relationships in the art (*), in the style of

* G. Hernandez de Alba (IV) /see the bibliography in the foreign text, p. 324/ found a necklace of small sodalite figures in a grave chamber. This material is otherwise not found in Colombia. It comes from a Bolivian mine, and works of art made of it are found in Tiahuanaco as well as in Peruvian and Argentinian sites.

their stone statues, and in the method of burial in shaft graves.

Artistic relationships, however, make probable more extensive linguistic relationships than is the case for the Paez and their neighbors. From this standpoint a relatively well-developed trade may also be assumed. The disposition and present activity of the Paez, however, does not give us any support in this respect either.

/320 cont./

105 We are therefore obliged to regard the presence of the Paez in
172 their present settlement areas of Tierradentro as subsequent to the
174 archeological culture. Whether, as later immigrants within a larger population movement, they were the destroyers of the archeological culture, or whether they settled on the sites of the archeological culture only in the course of their wars with the
105 Spaniards cannot be clarified at the present time. /321/ The
172 latter assumption is corroborated by the fact that the reports of
174 the early Spaniards about the tribes that they encountered and
114 about their geographical position are not always clear. For exam-
131 ple, P. Manuel Rodriquez (1684) has the Paez living in the Páramo de las Papas, the páramo west of San Agustín, in which
101 rise the Magdalena, Cauca, and Caqueta. It is also remarkable
105 that the first Spanish reports do not mention the Guambiano, the
114 present-day western neighbors of the Paez. The assumption that
172 the Paez were affiliated with a newly immigrated, war-like
174 population is corroborated by the fact that the tribe of the Andaki /Andaqui/ living in the culture area of San Agustín at the time of the Conquista also had nothing to do with the archeological culture, but may possibly be regarded as the destroyers of it.

VI. List of Foreign and Technical Terms

104

Alcalde	Colombian designation for the burgomaster of a town or head of a district. Also the designation for local native authorities.
Ají	Very pungent mixture of ají pepper with onions and other spices.
Arroba	Spanish measure of weight of 12 1/2 kilograms.
Cabildo	Colombian community council. Among the Paez the designation for the democratically chosen village council.
Chaquira	Columbian designation for glass bead.
Chicha	(pronounced tschitscha) Native beer. Made of sugar cane among the Paez, of maize among most of the other Andean Indians, usually made of manioc among the South American Forest Indians.

[Mosoco]

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105 178 [244] Potatoes are the principal crop in the parcialidad of Mosoco and the primary source of the natives' monetary income. It has made possible the establishment of intensive trade with the municipio of Silvia and has plainly had repercussions in the modification of rules of behavior and the restructuring of institutions. The transformation embraces nearly all aspects of Páez culture.

In the first place, work has intensified. The people of Mosoco have permanent work throughout the year. The women participate directly in the preparation of the soil, the planting, and the harvesting.

The children of both sexes go to school regularly, learn basic skills, and utilize them in everyday life. Mosoco is the only part of Tierradentro where there is a private school supervised by a native.

[191] Bilingualism is general. The "chontales," that is to say, persons who do not speak Spanish, are very few. There are not more than ten.

[276] The consumption of coca has disappeared among all the youthful elements.

[262] [264] The alimentary diet and schedule have been altered considerably. They have breakfast very early in the morning, lunch at noon, and dinner at nightfall. Milk, panela, lard, meat, and bread are consumed regularly.

The utensils are completely modern, consisting of aluminum and iron pieces.

There are wooden beds for sleeping, and blankets as well.

The houses are better built and furnished. There are houses of adobe and tile. Two tile-works inclusively already exist in the parcialidad.

The people are hospitable and generous toward foreign visitors.

[291] The clothing of the men is almost completely transformed. They dress like any Colombian peasant. The palm hat worn in other parcialidades has disappeared from this region. The women are clean, orderly, and talkative. They retain the slit skirt and sash, but have adopted chemises and the blue rebozo of the

/316 cont./

105 178 Guambianos. They adorn themselves with showy necklaces and pins. Not a few of them wear fine gold earrings.

[232] Livestock-raising has intensified and is in full swing. Norman cattle are replacing and being crossed with the native cattle. The same thing has happened with the wool-bearing livestock. The /317/ saddle and pack horses are indispensable for every family. The natives also possess fine breeds of hogs and domestic fowl.

[565] Social stratification is in full progress. Rich and poor families can already be named.

Mosoco women seldom marry natives from other, less acculturated parcialidades. People speak of mingas, and even of burials, of the rich and poor, a larger number of people going to those of the former.

They live on good terms with the whites and treat them as equals. There are many good native dealers.

These natives are thoroughly familiar with the methods of curing, the use of remedies, and sorcery. But the té eu and even more the nara jihi (sorcerer) are on the wane. Many consult the doctor of the "whites" in Silvia and use the drugs of the "whites." They are less superstitious.

They are believers by conviction. A few are Protestants with great reasoning powers.

The cabildo retains its power and is duly respected.

The properties are duly parceled out. Many of them are planted with pastos de selección /literally, choice pasture grasses/. Fences with barbed wire are frequently encountered.

Agricultural implements

412 [241] [177] Among the implements used in agriculture, only the digging stick for planting maize (uhach) is of native manufacture. The others are of European origin.

The universal implement among the Paez is the machete. With it the clearings are made, the ground is cleaned, and the fields, the montañas are felled, sugar mills are made, and bridges are laid over rivers and streams. They prefer it large and with a leather sheath that they fasten to the belt. They are